To the communist comrades of the world

The ***Communist Workers' Collective*** addresses all communist comrades around the world and, in particular, those who carry out their revolutionary work in Mexico, the place where geographically we inhabit in a circumstantial way.

The purpose of this text is to introduce our collective and to express our general conceptions regarding the work that communists must undertake in these complex times of imperialist war and the apparent dormancy of the labor movement.

I

The Communist Workers' Collective is a small group of workers from different productive sectors who have met with the purpose of studying, analysing and understanding the current problems of the communist movement and the tasks that we must develop in order to consciously promote the world revolutionary process.

In a world that is rapidly heading toward a large-scale imperialist conflagration, we firmly believe that it is our duty to fight decisively to achieve communist society by destroying the capitalist state, private property, bourgeois production relations, as well as commodities, money, bourgeois law, the family, and, of course, social classes.

We firmly believe that this is the minimum to which we workers must aspire and for which we must fight; that is, for communism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, we maintain that the only real alternative is the class struggle of the proletariat. Therefore, we consider it essential to fight uncompromisingly for the autonomy of the proletarian class and against all forms of interclass alliances and nationalism; we make it clear to our class that the impending large-scale imperialist war conflagration can only be annihilated with the proletarian revolution and, in no way, by supporting any side in the current bourgeois wars.

We proletarians do not assume, under any circumstances, the "defence of the fatherland" or the alliance with the left of the bourgeoisie –call them "anti-imperialist" or "anti-fascist fronts"– because that means renouncing the revolutionary program of the proletariat in favour of the defence of the local bourgeoisie against foreign imperialist interests. We proletarians have no homeland to defend because our interests are absolutely antagonistic to any capitalist side in confrontation. For this reason, we make our own the struggle of the proletariat that must transcend borders and develop on a world scale, a necessary condition to confront the bourgeoisie everywhere, transforming its struggle into a revolutionary war against capitalism with a view to its destruction throughout the planet.

II

We consider that at present international communism is in a deep crisis that does not seem to be ending. From our point of view, this crisis is evidenced in the current

uncritical and unreflective exercise of many communist organisations on revolutionary premises of the past and that today are insufficient to give clear answers in terms of the resurgence of an authentically revolutionary perspective. It is true that many tactical approaches that the communist movement of the past has bequeathed to us as Marxist premises, really were not. Today it is necessary to resume the revolutionary path that allows us to revolutionise our own praxis so that it is based on the fundamental principles of Marxism:

- To invariably pronounce ourselves in favour of the most categorical class struggle against the bourgeoisie and the governments;
- by the violent conquest of political power;
- for the defence of Marxist doctrine and for the firm proclamation in favour of the world revolution;
- for maintaining the internationalist principle of class struggle in time of war;
- for the destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the commune-state that directs the proletarian dictatorship;
- for categorically rejecting any kind of reformism in collaboration with certain sectors of the bourgeois class to supposedly transform the capitalist economy into a socialist economy;
- as well as our firmest and most resolute opposition to the participation in the parliamentary elections and the entry of the Communists into the trade unions, since these always converge towards the State and tend to associate themselves with it against the masses; The workers really have practically no power over them, which makes them absolutely unsuitable to serve as instruments of the proletarian revolution. The proletariat cannot defeat the bourgeoisie without destroying the trade unions.

Faced with this complicated panorama, we firmly believe that a full and complete understanding of Marxism is possible only in relation to revolutionary practice. That is why, below, we share with you, in bullet points, our understanding of the **immediate tasks** that communists must develop today:

1. Marxism, as a science of revolution, emerges as function of the general tendencies of capitalist accumulation. It forms the theory of the Communist Party and endows the revolutionary movement with a deep and vigorous intellectual unity.
2. Marxist theory must gradually penetrate a section of the proletariat; The experience of the masses will have to be linked to this theory in order to foster the practical recognition that capitalism is not viable and must not continue to exist.
3. The conceptions of the communists about their goal and their tasks aimed at realising their objectives must be elaborated on the basis of historically previous

revolutionary practice. Both the *Paris Commun*e and the *Russian Revolution* and the proletarian revolutionary wave that it dragged behind it (1917-1923), among other Soviet experiences such as those that took place in Asturias, Vienna or Seattle, represent for us the evidence about the driving forces, the conditions and the forms of proletarian revolution.

4. There are times of great revolutionary effervescence, this makes tactical differences be quickly overcome in action, in revolutionary praxis.

5. However, when we are in a period of revolutionary stagnation and slogans and tactical elements are not capable of stimulating the creativity of revolutionaries; we communists remain weak, fragmented, dispersed and only experience defeats; then the perspectives diverge and it becomes necessary to seek new courses of action and new tactical methods.

6. In this context —which is ours today— two main tendencies are emerging in the communist movement:

    - A current that seeks to revolutionise and clarify the minds of the proletariat through word and deed. It tries to put the new principles in the sharpest possible contrast with the old established conceptions. He strives for a clear and marked separation between the masses. This current is the *radical tendency* (A. Pannekoek).

    - The other current which seeks to attract to practical activity the masses who are still in deep backwardness and consequently emphasises points of agreement rather than points of difference, in an effort to avoid, as far as possible, anything that might hinder the fulfilment of its factional interests. This is the *opportunistic tendency*.

7. We communists belong to the radical tendency. So our essential task, our reason for being, is to revolutionise and clarify the mind of the proletariat through our own revolutionary praxis. Communists do not make revolution, we do not plan it, we do not create struggles; What we must do unequivocally is to ensure that the proletariat clearly and unmistakably follows the only possible route: the road of communism, the road of *proletarian revolution*.

8. The *historic mission* of the proletarian revolution is to place goods and social wealth in the hands of the working masses by abolishing private property and thereby wresting the economy from the hands of the bourgeoisie and its political power structure throughout the world.

9. Since the proletarian revolution is a process of economic and political transformation, it is impossible for it to be conquered at the local or national level; The proletarian revolution can only be realised through the establishment of a *world community*, which becomes its primary objective. In this sense it is understood that until the final defeat of capitalism on the international level, the victorious proletarian sections need to protect themselves from the reactionary

aggression of the counter-revolution. To do this, the proletariat will have to exercise its *organised political violence* in order to preserve its victory.

10. This necessity of the organised political violence of the revolutionary proletariat also becomes *"the basis of the necessity of the political organisation of the revolutionary proletariat both after and before the seizure of political power."* (German Communist Workers' Party - KAPD)

11. The historical form of political organisation of the revolutionary proletariat is represented by the workers' councils that have always emerged in the periods where the radicalisation of the class struggle leads them to struggle for the conquest of political power. However, the proletarian fighters most conscious and prepared for revolutionary struggle have also historically developed an appropriate historical form for their political and organisational gathering, which is the *party*.

12. The historical party of these proletarian fighters can only exist on the condition that it upholds a program and develops a communist essence. Since the historical objective of the proletarian revolution is precisely communism, the party can only be realised as a *Communist Party*.

13. The Communist Party must always show the proletarian masses the goal and the path to follow in a coherent manner, regardless of the difficulties it faces; being consistent all the time, showing not only with words but with deeds his tireless conviction and without hesitation.

14. The party is composed of communists, and its revolutionary praxis is what defines the essence of its organization and its ability to generate class consciousness among the working masses, categorically rejecting and frontally attacking the factional pretensions of the opportunist tendency of the workers' movement.

15. Communists organised in groups or parties promote with the greatest firmness the split between revolution and reformism, denouncing the latter for what it is: an extension of the old and oppressive capitalist system, as a betrayal of the revolutionary program of the proletariat and its interests.

16. Our collective considers that revolutions erupt spontaneously through the rebellion and violent action of the proletarian masses in certain historical contexts. We could say, then, that revolutions arise as an expression of creativity and self-constitution of the proletarian masses.

17. Historically, we have important examples of this: the spontaneous emergence of the *soviets* during the Russian Revolution of 1905, as a product of the proletarian masses to coordinate their struggle. That powerful institution born from the action of the Russian proletarians would quickly spread as an organisational form of the masses in struggle all over the world: in Germany, in the United States, in Italy, in Hungary, in Austria, in Spain, etc. The masses voluntarily build massive and open assemblies every time the proletariat increases the level of confrontation with the bourgeoisie.

18. Thus, the revolution does not arise through the mediation of a large mass party or a coalition of parties, nor through a small radical group of professional revolutionaries. The determining forces for the emergence of a revolution rest on the psychological factors that reside in the unconscious of the masses and in the great events of world politics. Practically all revolutions have instituted themselves even outside of, or even in the absence of, the Communist Party.

19. The spontaneous emergence of organisational structures among the proletarian masses in revolutionary fervour clearly shows us that communism is a ***real movement*** that tends to negate and overcome the real and historically existing conditions of capitalism sustained through its fundamental antagonistic relationship between wage labour and capital.

20. Therefore, if communism is a real movement, it is not an ideology; it exists and develops embryonically through the struggle and organization that the proletariat equips itself with to achieve its emancipation, even if the proletariat does not have a clear understanding of it or cannot see it with clarity.

21. Seeing things this way, should communists then remain passive, waiting for the proletarian masses to one day decide to burst forth like a revolutionary torrent? Absolutely not.

22. The function of communist parties, groups, or organisations lies in *spreading a clear understanding in advance* so that, ***within the masses***, there are elements, advanced workers, who know what they must do and are capable of judging the situation for themselves. In other words, their function is to be a ***catalyst*** that accelerates the development of communist consciousness within the proletariat to support and guide them, with the aim that they can constitute themselves as a class, as a party (K. Marx, F. Engels).

23. In this sense, it will not be the function of the communist organization to insert revolutionary consciousness *from outside* the class (K. Kautsky, V. I. Lenin), but to be a catalyst within it. It is not about replacing the class by trying to gain its trust and consent to establish itself as its leadership, as its accredited direction. What is at stake is to constitute itself as a structure, inserted in the class, which fights tenaciously so that it is the class itself that sinks into communist praxis.

24. Thus, during times of low class confrontation, communists propagate in advance — through their political propaganda— the essential elements of Marxism in order to *facilitate* the proletariat's understanding of the need for the destruction of capitalism, their self-emancipation, and the construction of a communist society; but they do this from within the class, catalysing the development of its proletarian consciousness. This is how communists build ***referentiality*** towards the communist project among the class and guarantee that the party organisation is built by the proletarians themselves; that is, that the Communist Party is proletarianised through the work of the communists among the masses.

25. During times of revolutionary upsurge, communists must raise their program, slogans and orientations that the masses recognise as correct because they are able to recognise in them their own aspirations in the most appropriate way, providing revolutionary ***directionality*** to the struggle of the proletariat —of course, thanks to the work of referentiality previously carried out within the class. Without it, it will be impossible for the class to transcend the immediate demands that make its struggle explode, to distance itself and fight the bourgeois leadership that opportunism can imprint on it and can transcend towards a communist revolution; that is, ***without referentiality, directionality cannot be constructed***—.

26. This is how we consider the urgent and immediate tasks that communists must develop within the proletarian class: first, by conquering ***referentiality*** for communism and for communists; then, by providing ***directionality*** to the ascendant and spontaneous struggle of the proletarian masses.

27. Certainly, while the masses remain inactive, these tasks may seem like a fruitless tactic; however, the ***clarity of principles*** has an implicit effect on many proletarians who may initially seem reluctant, and the revolution reveals its active power to give a defined direction to the struggle.

28. As can be seen, this communist work that involves—so to speak—the referentiality-directionality binomial has a fundamental element that defines it, traces it and gives it strength and coherence: the element of ***clarity and inflexibility in communist principles***.

29. If the communists depart from principles, if they are willing to dilute them in terms of "tactical advances", then their praxis loses coherence. That is, if in the attempt to create a great party the formation of alliances is privileged by making political and ideological concessions, this will allow the opportunist elements, or the most confused, to gain influence among the proletarian masses in times of revolution, due to the discordant programmatic elements that will surely cloud their capacity for discernment.

30. To cede principles for the sake of developing a traditional tactical form (blocs of parties or inter-class fronts, incorporation of ideas or demands alien to the interests of the emancipation of the proletarians or to accept syndicalism, economism, in order to "bring together" the masses to the detriment of an authentically revolutionary program, for example) is a futile attempt to "gain power" without *revolution in ideas*, which is the precondition for doing so; its effect is, therefore, to halt the course of the revolution. Thus, this work will be doomed to failure because "only the most radical thought can take root in the masses once they commit themselves to the revolution" (A. Pannekoek)

31. And indeed, a revolution involves a rupture and, at the same time, a qualitative ascent in the thought of the proletarian masses: the revolution creates the conditions for this *rupture-qualitative ascent* and the revolution itself is conditioned by it. This is how **referentiality is directly related to the conditions of rupture-ascent of communist ideology, and directionality is conditioned by**

this elevation of revolutionary ideas and principles: one cannot aspire to a communist revolution if the proletariat finds itself stuck in bourgeois common sense and in the law of value. if it does not break and overcome this alienating ideology and these bourgeois social relations. Only when the proletariat critically appropriates the principles of communist ideology does the communist revolutionary project become the compass, the only reference for the masses to develop and conduct their struggle. And if the principles of communism are the only possible reference for the proletariat in its struggle for emancipation, these principles will totally condition the direction and objectives of its struggle: the communisation and transformation of social relations and of everyday life while destroying the bourgeois state, capital, value and their transformations. These are, no more and no less than the tasks that we communists must always carry out by virtue of the power of transformation of the world that our unequivocal principles possess.

32. Looking at things in this way, referentiality and directionality –firmly anchored in communist principles– are the objectives that communists must always promote. That is what the work of communists within the working class is all about: to constitute ourselves as an organ within the class that does not superimpose itself on it, that does not try to supplant it, command it or lead it, but its fundamental objective is that the class deepens by itself in the perspective of the struggle for communism: "the emancipation of the working class will be the work of the workers themselves" (K. Marx).

33. Perhaps an allegory can help us explain ourselves better: a meteorological phenomenon can trigger a series of events that impact our planet and can represent a series of problems for human beings. Thus, the increase in rainfall in a given area can cause river overflows, dam breaches, as well as mountain collapses and large avalanches of rock and mud, destroying everything in their path. The fury of nature is uncontrollable, entire communities are dangerously flooded or buried under tonnes of mud. No one can contain that unleashed fury; it is uncontrollable and leaves a thousand stories of misfortune in its wake. Revolutionary waves, when they erupt, are similar to this unstoppable phenomenon: the masses spontaneously unleash their class anger and destroy everything in their path. Communists cannot, nor should we, try to stop or dampen such virulence; on the contrary, we must stimulate it but fight to channel it towards the revolutionary goal. This cannot be done once that fury has erupted; it must be built beforehand, in the moments of mass passivity. During that time, we communists build gaps and barriers, deviations and channels with the aim that all that human tide is directed towards the goal of a new society. That is our job, to create referentiality so that the masses recognise in communism and in communists the directionality of their struggle.

34. The problem of achieving referentiality in communism within the working class involves a fundamental future problem: If the proletariat manages to seize power, how will the foundation of that subsequent power develop within it? It might seem like a sterile question because that situation is in the very distant future. However, we believe it is pertinent because the referentiality-directionality that we build from today based on the principles of communism will have profound repercussions once

the class manages to dislodge the bourgeoisie from power and begins to build its own. If we are consistent with the idea that the emancipation of the working class will only be the work of the working class itself, then it will have to construct in advance the fundamental principles for the building of its own power (dictatorship of the proletariat). It is precisely because of this situation that it is impossible to believe that a *resolute minority* (even if it is rightly called the Communist Party) can solve the problems that can only be solved by the action of the class in a unitary way, that is, as a whole.

35. In response to this, one might object that when the masses allow the conquest of power to take place, in their name, by their most enlightened "vanguard" —the Communist Party— it is because a certain indifference, a certain "passive attitude" prevails in them towards the exercise of power, which they *delegate* to "their" vanguard. However, we consider it incorrect to speak of genuinely passive masses because, in this case, it is understood that only their enormous active violent action allowed for the destruction of the structures of bourgeois power and the projection of the construction of a new proletarian power. In the face of this, it is not appropriate to speak of passivity or indifference. And it would be extremely dangerous for the course of a revolution to regard the proletarian masses in this way, for we must not forget that this same mass, which we might consider passive or indifferent, will be able to turn the revolution around at any time as a follower of reaction as long as we have not succeeded —from the beginning of our revolutionary activity, in the development of the proletarian masses, even before the period of violent outbreak— to win their will for communism.

36. The tasks of building communist society and its problems must be faced and resolved by the proletarian masses themselves, not by the minority acting in their name (even if this minority has clarity on *how* and *where to go*). Therefore, it is necessary to break with the traditional forms of organization characteristic of *leaders* who suddenly act as bosses, outside or even above the interests of the proletarian masses themselves. On the contrary, it is necessary to consolidate the ***material power of the masses*** and not just offer a symbolic power where a minority manages the political, ideological, and material needs of the masses in their own name. Only through the consolidation of the material power of the masses "will it be possible to reorganise both production and defence against external attacks from capitalism, and this is the prerequisite for preventing counter-revolution" (A. Pannekoek).

37. Up to this point, we have maintained that the fundamental element of the revolution consists of the proletarian masses consolidating their material power: the direction of society and production. So, if any form of organization becomes an impediment or obstacle for the proletarian masses to take control and direction of society into their own hands, then that form of organization is counter-revolutionary and harmful. In this scenario, the proletarian masses must destroy this harmful form of organisation and replace it with another form that is revolutionary, that is, that is an instrument of training the proletariat to define everything actively and consciously.

III

Through this point, we have exposed in a general way how we conceive the revolutionary work that we must promote within the proletariat. Of course, facing this task requires a remarkable understanding of Marxism, of the revolutionary history of our class, of correctly characterising the proletariat, of analysing the most appropriate forms of written and audiovisual propaganda, etc.

In this sense, this conception that we present here also becomes our proposal for work towards you. We believe that sooner rather than later –due to the brutal conditions in which current capitalism develops– the spontaneous fury of the masses will emerge and if we have not built referentiality, that explosion will most likely end up diluted and repressed or co-opted by bourgeois reaction; then, we will see a valuable revolutionary conjuncture pass by.

This is the proposal, these are the reasons, and this is its content; we share it with you openly and honestly.

Communist Workers' Collective

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